DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

IN SFNATE-THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12.

REMOVALS FROM OFFICE.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the following resolution, which came up amongst the special orders on the

catendar:

Resolved, That the President be requested to cause to be laid before the Senate all charges which have been preferred or filed in any of the Departments against individuals who have been removed from office since the 4th day of March last, with a specification of the cases, if any, in which the officers charged have had opportunity to be heard, and a statement of the number of removals made under each Department, including subordinates in the custom-houses and other branches of the public service. of the public service.

Mr. BRADBURY. Mr. President, a day was fixed at the last session of Congress for taking a vote upon this resolution; but in consequence of the unexpected and melancholy event, the decease of the Chief Magistrate, which was announced on that day, no vote was taken. One of the inquiries embraced in the resolution becomes now inappropriate, if not improper, by reason of the entire change of the Cabinet that made the removals referred to, thereby leaving no person to respond to the inquiry as to the cause for which the removals had been made. It is, however, due to the country that it should know the extent to which the work of proscription was carried by the recent Administration; and there is no impropriety in asking for the number of re-movals that have been made. I have prepared a substitute for the original resolution, which calls for a list of the officer removed who derived their appointment from a nomination of the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, and a statement of the number of removals of officers who do not derive their appointment in that manner. Resolutions in this form have repeatedly passed one or the other branch of Con-gress. A resolution of this character passed the House of Representatives in 1839, and another in 1841. The modification obviates the objections that were urged against the re-solution in the original form, and I apprehend there can be no objection to the passage of it as now presented. Believing that this is a matter of legitimate inquiry, that it will furnish information important to be known, and that it will inform the country of the extent, the unparalleled extent, to which proscription has been carried by an Administration that came into power pledged against proscription, I trust that the re-solution will now be adopted. As the resolution is now in a form sanctioned by usage, I presume no objection will

Mr. BERRIEN. Will the Senator from Maine do me the favor to state what is the portion of the original resolution which he proposes to exclude?
The PRESIDENT. The motion is to strike out all after

the word "Resolved," and insert a substitute.

Mr. BERRIEN. I desire to understand the substance of

the excluded portion of the original resolution. Mr. BRADBURY. The original resolution calls upon the President for the charges preferred, together with a list of the officers removed. The resolution which I now propose as a substitute simply calls for a list of the officers who derived their appointment by the nomination of the President and the concurrence of the Senate, and a statement of the number of other officers removed, such as postmasters and other subordinate officers.

Mr. BERRIEN. From the manner in which the Senator who moved the adoption of this resolution has introduced it. it is to be inferred that the object of obtaining this information is to found upon it the charge of improper conduct or the part of the late Administration, evidenced by the numerous removals which were made by it.

The Senator states as his reason why he has modified his resolution, and excludes from it the requisition to furnish the grounds upon which the removals were made, that there has een a change in the Cabinet, which renders that impracticable. So I understand him. He will correct me, if I am

Mr. BRADBURY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BERRIEN. Then I understand the Senator to say that he has excluded from his resolution a call for the reason which induced these removals because the change in the Cabinet renders it impracticable to furnish them. Sir, with great respect to that honorable Senator, it seems to me that that consideration goes to the whole of the resolution. For what is it ' If it be designed to furnish information merely for the purpose of censuring the late Administration, the present Administration are called upon to furnish a list of the removals made by their predecessors; and these predecessors are de-prived of the privilege of furnishing the reasons upon which these removals were founded. I wish the Senate to understand distinctly this idea, that the present Administration is not called upon for reasons, even if they are upon file. There will, therefore, be a list of removals, apparently made capriciously, and without cause. Does it become the Senate of the United States to lend itself to procure information which may thus be improperly used? I trust it will not be done.

Mr. BRADBURY. There was nothing in the remarks charges egalist the late Administration. It may be important to aid us in useful legislation; valuable legislation may be founded upon that information; and, as I have already stated, on more than one occasion resolutions of a similar kind have been adopted. Indeed, one of the resolutions called for a list of removals covering a period of twelve years; and another called for a similar list of the class of officers referred to who had been removed from the time of the organization of the Government to the day of its passage. No objection can be made to this call which could not have been urged with greater force against the resolutions of 1839 and 1841. We now call for the list of the number of removals; and I apprehend the late Administration is not so destitute of friends but that it will be able to find these who will undertake the task of giving the reasons for the adoption of that system of proscription for which it has become distinguished.

Mr. EWING. The honorable Senator introduced this resolution, I think, very early at the last session. Why it has been permitted to lingertill the present time, I am unable to say. The resolution offered called not only for the number of removals, but the cause; and certain it is that while the Cabinet that made these removals was in existence and able to respond, not only to the inquiry as to the number of removals, but the cause, the Senator did not see fit to press the resolution. It was a long session, very long. There was time enough, and there was strength enough on his side of the chamber to bring it to a vote. There was no difficulty at all; but just as long as that Cabinet remained there, the Senator failed to press his resolution to a vote. He mo-difies it now, or rather he brings in a new resolution, and inquires for the number of removals—what he calls the unpre-cedented number of removals made by the last Administration. He asks for no reason, because, as he says, none can be given now. What does this look like ? What would be the natural impression on the minds of persons who see the course of that honorable Senator? Would they not be apt to suppose that there was a great number of removals, and for sufficient cause, and that he does not wish the removal and the cause of it to go before the country at the same time Now that these public officers have passed away, the honorable Senator amends his resolution and asks only for the naked fact of the removal, leaving the cause unexplained and liable to be misrepresented to the injury of the officers who made the removals? I do not wish to pursue the subject further than to call public attention to the fact.

Mr. BRADBURY. I desire to reply very briefly to the remarks of the honorable Senator from Ohio. The Senator charges me with declining to press the resolution while the Cabinet was in power under which the removals had been made. A brief explanation is necessary on this point. It will be recollected by the Senate that after this resolution was introduced, and I had made an explanation of its object, the Senator from Connecticut gave notice of his intention to reply, and the resolution was laid over several weeks for his ac dation for that purpose. After his elaborate speech, I availed myself of the earliest opportunity to reply to him, and then the vote was proposed to be taken on the resolution. There were several others, however, who then manifested a wish to speak, and a vote could not be obtained. In the mean time another subject of debate, the compromise measures, came before the Senate, and a debate sprung up which so entirely and exclusively occupied the public mind and the attention of the Senate, that it was impossible to get a hearing or a vote upon the resolution. The honorable Senator from Connecticut knows full well that I attempted repeatedly to get the resolution up and obtain a vote upon it, but was unable to do so. At length a day was agreed upon, on the motion of the honorable Senator from North Carolina, for the vote to be taken; and on that day the death of the President was an-nounced. It was no fault of mine, nor of the friends of the resolution, that the vote was not obtained. I pressed the resolution repeatedly and carnestly, and the delay arose from

Unforeseen events.

The honorable Senator from Ohio says that I speak of th "unprecedented" number of removals. I have a right to speak of the number as "unprecedented," when President Jackson was denounced as guilty of ruthless proscription fo having removed four hundred and ninety-one postmasters in the first year of his Administration, while the fact was admitted on this floor that during a single year of the late non-pro-scription Administration more than three thousand four hundred postmosters were removed. I have a right to speak of the number as unprecedented, when, during the entire Administration of Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, covering a period of twelve years, there were but two hundred and eighty-three officers removed who, derived their appointmen from the Presiden, with the advice of the Senate, agains how many times that number during the first year of the late

The honorable Senator says that the resolution was allowed to lie until there was no one to respond to it, and explain the cause for which removals were made. That Senator is him-

self here on this floor, in the best possible position to make the explanation. We challenge that explanation; and I may add that an explanation is demanded, in consequence of remarks which have fallen from the honorable Senator himself. His language contains an intimation that these removals were made for other than political considerations. The public will draw the inference from his remarks, whether so intended or not. I do not undertake to say that this wholesale system

removals was made on account of the unfaithfulness of the incumbents, and in order that more efficient men might be put in office ; or, in plain terms, that none but unfaithful or it efficient men were removed. Now, if such is the allegation, of such is the ground of defence, let us understand it. Even to this day there seems to be an unwillingness to admit that hese removals were made from political considerations alone. I trust that the information may be given, and then the hon-orable Senator will have an opportunity to make an explanation, and we will be prepared to meet it.

Mr. MANGUM. It is within the recollection of the Sen ate that this resolution occupied many days during the last session. It will also be remembered that it was a discussion of surpassing interest to the Senate; for upon one occasion a very eloquent Senator made a speech of three days upon it, which was listened to by five Senators and the unf Vice President. I think the Senate has become tired of thi whole thing. The occasion for this resolution has passed away. The men have passed away. It is impossible to derive from the passage of this resolution any information that would be interesting to the country. All that has gone forth in the speeches of gentlemen. The great object of the resolution seemed to be to make speeches on the subject. They have been made. They have been printed; but I can not say whether or not they have been read. I think that, a we can derive no information upon the subject that will be interesting or useful to the country, in addition to what has already been published in speeches, which have been circu-lated far and wide, we had better get this resolution out of the way, and proceed to the proper business of the country. Without any view at all of cutting off the public from any information which would be useful or interesting, I move that the matter lie on the table.

Mr. SEWARD. Will the Senator withdraw the motion

or a few minutes to allow me to say a few words?

Mr. MANGUM. Certainly: I withdraw the motion

Mr. SEWARD. I wish only to say that I believe there was no member of the Senate more partial in his favor towards the last Administration than I was, and yet that towards the last Administration than I was, and yet that there was no period during the existence of that administration that I would not have voted for this resolution in the form in which it is now proposed that it shall receive the action of the Senate. I hold that the people of this country are entitled to information about the number of removals that are made by any administration, and that the Senate, as a legislative body, may properly call for that information to spread it before the country. I should never have voted for the resolution in its ori rinal form, because I think it would have been an attempt b the Senate to invade the constitutional rights and responsibilities of the Executive department. My object in rising, therefore, is to say that I cannot, as perhaps I might be expected to do as a friend of the last administration, vote to lay this amended resolution on the table, and that I am perfectly willing that the information should go to the country of the whole num ber of removals that were made by the last administration and go under all the disadvantages under which that admir tration will labor, by the death of its chief and by the dis persion of its members. Still I believe that that administration will stand vindicated by the country against all the unfavorable inferences which may be drawn from the manner which the subject will go before them.

Mr. EWING. Mr. President, the honorable Senator fro Maine has given a very special explanation of the reason why he did not bring his resolution to a vote at the last session Allow me, however, to say, that if he had been really earnest, if he had desired to come to a vote, it was clearly within his power to have pressed it to a vote. I noticed the progress of the resolution, and I noticed there was a great deal of yielding to the pressure of circumstances on the part of that The resolution was quite imposing in appearance, and proposed in a manner somewhat imposing. But now, as I have observed, the reasons for these removals cannot be answered, but must be left to conjecture. The Senator, however, says that I am here and may answer. He instances as a subject of complaint the removal of 3,400 post-masters in a year. What does the honorable Senator suppose I know about the removal of posimasters? What does he suppose I ever had to do with them? The bonorable Senaor evidently knows as much and more about them than I do He seems to know how many were removed in a single year, which I never knew, and do not now know except from his statement.

The honorable Senator inquires whether I wish to understood as saying that these removals were made for other than political causes. I cannot answer as to a majority or all of the removals. Many of them were made because the individuals were not worthy, independently of political causes. Many more were made because the individuals appeared to have obtained their appointments for no other merit then political services, and to preserve them upon no other tenure than those services. The honorable Senator says that at the commencement of Gen. Jackson's administration there were which I made which would justify the inference of the honor- but some four hundred removals of postmasters. He does able Secutor, that there could be no other legitimate use for not name the number of other officers removed in the first movals of postmasters and other officers was much less than under the late administration. But why? Because the pre-decessor of Gen. Jackson had not surrounded himself with a host of political partisans, whose business was to sustain and support his administration and aid in his re-election. He had appointed correct men-men fit for the execution of their official duties; men whom there could be no cause to remove, except for political causes. And of the number of existing officers at that time but a small proportion were friends of the past and opponents of the incoming administration. Gen. Jackson came into power he found the offices of the country largely in the hands of his political partisans; but on the incoming of the past administration almost every man that was in office was an adherent, and a warm adherent, of the previous administration. All the public offices were in the hands of the opponents of Gen. Taylor, and the laws which he was bound to execute would have to be executed fficers, if he failed to change them, who were his earnest and determined opponents; men who had received office as a re-ward for opposing him, and who held their offices upon the this opposition. This was the difference in the state of things on the incoming of the two administrations. But should any man take the number of officers at the coming of Gen. Jackson's administration; take the number in office that were opposed to him, and the number of bis friends and adherents in office: and take the number of officers that existed at the incoming of the past administration, take the number in office opposed to that administration; and the num-ber in favor of it, and strike a balance between the two by the rules of proportion, the late administration will compare most with that of Gen. Jackson or any subsequent adninistration upon that side.

I bave no doubt that these things are now perfectly under stood by the public. I have no question that the people at large generally know the truth of the case. I have no doubt that the people at large know just about as much in relation to the number of removals made by the last administration as do, or as the honorable Senator from Maine does. And I have no possible objection to the record being made out, and a document printed circulating and diffusing it. I have no objection to the Scnator's resolution at all. I spoke of this merely to call public attention to the circumstances—to let the nation see why this subject was not pressed during the last session of Congress, and why it is proposed now. And I have made these few brief remarks to call attention to the different condition of things existing at the time referred to by the honorable Senator, and at the incoming of the past ad-ministration. Let the comparison be made, and I have no doubt at all that a just public opinion will show that General Taylor was lenient to public officers whose political opinions

Mr. DODGE, of Iowa. Mr. President, I have a few words to say on this subject, and I wish first to do an act of justice to my friend from Maine, (Mr. Baabatax.) I feel that it is a duty I owe to defend him from the unjust imputation, beldly made by the Sepator from Ohio, (Mr. Ewing.) He charges the Senator from Maine with insincerity in offering his resolution at the last session, calling for the number of removals from office under the late administration, and the charges upon which they were made, and says that he did charges upon which they were the call. This, sir, I was in existence and ready to answer the call. This, sir, I if they had not been in such a hurry. I had not then been accused of holding to democracy without regard to complexion, that he pressed a vote on his resolution with all the zeal and determination that any Senator could have evinced. More than that. I believe I was myself perhaps the unconscious instrument of preventing a vote upon his resolution. I had the floor, and was prepared to make what would in all probability have been the last speech on it. The compromise would "cqualize" the thing, and as they had not had a probability have been the last speech on it. measures were before the Senate, and the venerable and distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Clar) did me the bonor to come to my seat and make a personal appeal to me bonor to come to my seat and make a personal appeal to me to decline, and forego what he deemed to be a mere partisan iscussion, until after the passage of those great measures, which it was hoped would give peace to the country. I well remember he gave it as his opinion that the resolution would not be an wered if adopted. Under these circumstances I yielded the floor against the wishes of the Senator from Maine, the most against the wisnes of the Senator from Maine, who was then, and all the time, anxious to bring his resolu-tion to a vote. I did not then, nor do I now doubt, that it is same thing is expressed in a different manner by the Whigs, would have been passed but for the cause stated by the Sena-tor from Maine—the death of the late President upon the other, you will find, during this Administration of the late President upon the other, you will find, during this Administration object I have in view; and I hope, therefore, that the resolution to a vote. I did not then, nor do I now doubt, that it would have been passed but for the cause stated by the Senaday upon which it was to be considered. The assertion, therefore, of the Senator from Ohio that the Senator from Maine did not desire, or that a majority of the Senate did not desire a vote on that resolution, is incorrect. With all due deference to the Senator from Ohio, I think I may be permitted to say that my means of knowing the motives and active the senator from Ohio. The major that they will practice on this principle.

I can excuse the Whigs, for they had been out a long time, for coming with a little circumfocution to the practice of a system that they had been all their lives condemning. The Senators in this proceeding were better than his. I

merciless severity than did the Senator from Ohio. merciless severity than did the Senator from Ohio. He struck down, without giving them an opportunity of defence, every land officer save one in Iows; all in Minnerota, all in Wisconsin, all in Illinois, all in Missouri, all in Indiana, all in Michigan, all in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. All, I believe, of every grade and character that belonged to his Department, have and their heads brought to the block.

Of those who were thus beheaded by the Senator from

Of those who were thus beneaded by the Senator from Ohio in my State, I can say that more faithful, honest, capable officers or upright citizens never held place under any Government. No man has had the hardihood even to insinuate that they were guilty of malfeasance in office, of unfaithfulness that they were guilty of malfeasance in office, of unfaithfulness to their duties, or of any thing other than the expression of their hones' sentiments and opinions as men and as American freen en. Sir, I ask the Senator to tell for what crime these officers in Iowa—my friends—were removed. If it be for their opinions, I am ready as they are to admit that they are Democrats; and if the removals were made for that cause, candor and justice require that it should be so stated. But, sir, knowing that require that it should be so stated. But, sir, knowing that neither scandal, nor infamy, nor one-sided representations can impugn the characters of any of these gentlemen, if I am answered I am sure it will be with the vague, indefinite, and anti-American charge of their having interfered in elections. But, according to Whig ethics, this is only a crime when perpented by the property of the stated here. trated by a Democrat; to prove which, it is only necessary cite the fact that the most rabid and bitter partisans-Whig electors-with the dust of the canvass yet upon t were the first to be rewarded with the spoils in lows.

But allow me to refer to another case to illustrate the injus-tice and ex parte character of this Whig rule for the removaof such officers as interfere with elections, and in doing so trust I shall do violence to the feelings of no one, as nothing further from my intention. The district attorneys, I be lieve, all belonged to the Department of the Interior, over which the Senator presided. I believe, very soon after taking charge of that department, he removed every district attorney under the Government, save the late John Norvell, of Michigan, who was more conspicuous for having interfered in election than any other officeholder in America.

Mr. Norvell was not only not removed, but re-nominated the Senate at the expiration of his term of service, and that was made acquainted by means of the telegraphic wires. A word now as to the proscriptions of the late Administra-tion generally. Sir, in point of numbers and violence, there

has never been any thing to equal it in any or all the Adminunnatural than any other that has ever marked the history of the country, is the severity with which it has fallen upon those gallant patriots who, quitting the pursuits of civil and quiet life, rushed to the standard of their country in the late war with Mexico, and by their heroism and valor did so much to maintain the honor of the American arms, and to enable the late President to acquire those laurels which he so nobly won, and for which a grateful people elevated him to the first office within their gift. Look at the manner in which Lane and Weller were hunted down on the Pacific coast pursued with indecept haste nearly half the circumference of the globe, stripped of their commissions, and humbled in the presence of some of the enemy whom their valor had contriouted to conquer, and for no other offence than their politics entiments. Nothing in the history of the constantly ring revolutions and proscriptions of the miserable oligarchy of Mexico, in my judgment, equals the proscription of these distinguished men and patriots, and the attempts that hav been made to injure them in order to justify their removal. ned men and patriots, and the attempts that have

Mr. WALKER. The Senator from Ohio concluded both f the speeches with which he entertained us this morning with the expression of the desire that they might go to the country. The burden of his first was to charge the Senator from Maine with having introduced a resolution calling for the remova's made, together with the causes for which they were made, and then abandoning or shuffling off the respon-sibility of pressing a vote upon that resolution until the Adninistration had gone out of power, and of now coming forward and calling for the number of removals simply, without asking for the causes of them. I was impressed with the beief, and I believe every Senator in the chamber was impressed with the belief, that he endeavored to charge the Senator from Maine and those on this side of the chamber with having a disposition to avoid the responsibility of hearing the number of removals, together with the causes for them. The triumphant manner in which he spoke impressed me with the belief that he intended to be understood by the Senate and the country as saying that he would at any time have been willing, if the Senator from Maine had dared to receive it, to give the names, the number of those removed, and the causes for their removal; but that he only opposed that resolution because the call was confined to the list, and not to the causes. I would ask that Senator if, at any period during the last session after he came here, or any period during the time he was a member of the Cabinet, he would have been willing to give a list of the removals, and the causes for which they were made? I do not believe he would. I have some evidence that Senators on that side of the chamber would have been unwilling to do so for I find on the floor this morning a direct conflict between he boast of the Senator from Ohio and what has been said by the Senator from New York, (Mr. SEWARD.) The Senate from New York said that he would not have voted for the resolution of the Senator from Maine, in the form in which was first introduced, but would vote for this. Thus we see, on the one hand, this triumphant claim on the part of th Senator from Ohio, and a willingness at any time to give list of the removals, and the causes for which they were made and on the other side the declaration of the Senator from New York that he never would have voted for the resolution which demanded the causes of the removal.

I wish this inconsistency to be seen by the country. vish the Senator from Ohio to tell us if he intended to thus understood by the Senate and the country; and if he did thus wish to be understood, let him tell us whether h would have been willing ever to vote for that resolution calling for the causes of the removals. I wish the resolution to call for the causes of these removals. I would not give a fig. for a mere list of the removals without the causes for which they were made accompanying them. The intelligent peo-ple of this country need no list of removals. Every neighborhood knows full well the number of removals. They take but little interest in that matter. But they do wish to know the causes for which their friends were slaughtered down. I wish to know whether they were guillotined for causes which involved moral turpitude or official delinquency. I don't know whether the Senator would consent to give us his answer, whether he would have voted for the resolution as was originally introduced. If he would, then he makes a issue with the Senator from New York, (Mr. SEWARD.) not, he should withdraw the triumphant and implied boast that he would at any time have given us the causes of the re-movals with the list of them, if we had dared to venture to

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I was about to suggest the there was a very wise provision with regard to this subject at the last session, and to recommend to the Senate to take the same course at this session, and that was to set apart Friday and Saturday, and have an express understanding that nobody but the speakers are expected to attend, except some five or six members and the President, so that the subject may be discussed understandingly. That will be vastly more interesting to the Senste and quite as much for the good of the

country.

I know something about this being decapitated. I have at the moment like reising any great indignation with regard to it, because I had transgressed the rule laid down. I election eered as well as I could for the candidates who were defeated, and I had not the least expectation if I was defeated of holding on, and I did not. I believe I was one of the first heads that was cut off by the Tyler administration before not, they were bound to remove more from the plus to the minus side of the equation. That was to be expected. I have a Senator in my eye who is doing me the honor to listen to me. I recollect hearing him say that he would not support any Administration that would not turn out its opponents. I believe it has been expressed by the saying, "To

for coming with a little circumlocution to the practice of a system that they had been all their lives condemning. The thing is not understood. They had been condemning the was a member of the body at the time, and he was not.

The Senator from Ohio says that be cannot be expected to en irely different affair, and instead of giving to the victors and I will not go into it. The Senator also refers answer for the removals of the postmasters referred to by the the spoils, it became in their hands the equalization of an to two cases of removals, Gen. Lane, Governor of Oregon,

feetly well that one of the most prominent charges me against him, and the then existing administration, was to against him, and the then existing administration, was that it had refused to reappoint some printers of the laws, whose term of service had expired by its own limitation. He appointed six new editors to publish the laws of the United States, according to my recollection, in the places of those whose terms of service had expired. And that act in the history of the country is worthy of being classified as the commencement of proscription in this country. After that the Democratic administration came into power, and this thing called "proscription" went on with the increasing rething called "proscription" went on with the increasing we locity of a falling rock. It multipled enormously. Mr. MANGUM. According to the square of the dis-

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes, sir, it multiplied "according to the square of the distance." The Whigs had the power in this body, and they called upon the Democratic adpower in this body, and they called upon the Democratic administration to give them a list of the removals and appointments, and they got them. I am inclined to follow that example, and as the gentleman from Maine has called for similar information which was given in former days, let him have it now. I am willing that he should have it; but I would prefer that his resolution should be amended, so as to get the same information for each administration since 1825 down to the present time. The reason why I prefer amending the resolution and obtaining the information in that way is this; prior to 1825 the heads of the administration were revolutionary men. They were coeval with the constitution. Most of them had taken an active part then, either in writing or in of them had taken an active part then, either in writing or i of them had taken an active part then, either in writing or in the Convention which framed the constitution, to bring that instrument into practical existence. Mr. Madison declared that he who removed from office for opinion's sake would be worthy of impeachment, and under the revolutionary Presidents, under the practice which had prevailed prior to 1825, a removal, except for cause, was unknown. This doctrine of proccription, according to the allegations of the Democratic party, began with Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams; and as we have heard of its continuance from that day down to this we have heard of its continuance from that day down to this either under the denomination of "equalization," as the St nator from New Hampshire calls it, or of "distributing th spoils among the victors," according to another expression, the resolution can be amended so as to call for the number removals during each administration, from 1925 down to the present time, we shall have the information to present to the country, and let the people make their own comments upon t. As to myself, allow me to say that I have been against the doctrine of removing for opinion's sake, either to reward the victors or for the purpose of "equalization," from the time of its inception to the present day. If an officer in power is faithful, if he is competent, if he discharges his duties well, my conviction is that he had better be retained, because he can perform the duties of his situation much better for the interests of the country—better than a new ma who is not acquainted with the duties of the office. Th public interest suffers by these changes. You turn out competent man, and a man who is well acquainted with the duties he is called upon to discharge, and in his place you put a raw man who knows nothing about them at the time of commencing. Moreover, you sometimes deprive the incum bent of the means of living, and reduce him and his family in some instances to want. Very frequently this is done to reward one less deserving, and one who is less entitled to the regard of the country than the one who is sacrificed.

Sir, there is no remedy for this state of things but a con stitutional provision tying the hands of power. There is n remedy for it unless you provide one by the constitution of by law. You ought to do it by an amendment of the constitution, because of the construction originally put upon the constitution that the President had the power to remove construction which I believe to have been wrong in the firs instance; but being coeval with the history of the country, it is now too late to get clear of it except by an amendment of the constitution. Until you do that we shall have administration after administration practising this doctrine of the "spoils," or this doctrine of "equalization," to the end o

he Government.

The danger of that state of things is this, that every President of the Government of the Government. dential election from now to the end of time, if the Governa set of retainers—by a set of sycophants who court power, and who maintain a favored candidate, with a view to the ultimate reward they all expect to receive; and that man who is a candidate for office, who can command more presse than any other, more sycophants than any other, who can command his squad of electioneerers upon every stump, would come into the Presidential chair to reward those who placed

him there, irrespective of merit.

I hold that every patriot in this country—every man who loves the institutions of a republican government, those under d. ought to endea to put down that state of things. But I see no way of doing it but by an amendment of the constitution of the Unit ed States, and that perhaps never will be done. It has be come a matter that is laughed at, if you even propose to amen the constitution of the country. I know the difficulty. Per haps it never will be amended until revolution shall force upon the considerate patriots and the considerate people of the country. Revolution may make them think. tion may make them act, and in that way perhaps you may accomplish what reason and good sense ought to, but cannot

I now propose to amend the gentleman's amendment b striking out all after the word "resolved," and inserting th

following:

"That the Heads of the several Departments be and they are required to inform the Senate of the number of removals which have been made of subordinate officers in their respective Departments during each Administration since the 4th of the control o

Mr. BRADBURY. Mr. President, I would state to th Senator from Kentucky that most of the information which he proposes to obtain by his amendment has already been fur nished, in answer to resolutions that have been adopted by nished, in answer to resolutions that have been adopted by the House of Representatives. A resolution was adopted, in response to which, information was rendered of the number of removals up to the 16th day of July, 1841.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I would inform my friend that I am aware of that fact, but I want all this information in one

document. It will not require very much labor, as some of the information has already been furnished.

Mr. BRADBURY. The phraseology of the Senator's amendment is somewhat ambiguous. I do not know whether it might not be regarded as applying solely to the removals that have been made of the subto the removals that have been made of the subordinates of the Departments here in this city. There might be some doubt whether, under the phraseology of the amendment, it would embrace the vast number of persons under the Post Office Department, as postmasters, and as subordinates in custom-houses. I hope the honorable Senstor will allow the resolution, as I have proposed to amend it, to be passed; and it will be easy, by reference to the information that has heretofore been laid before Congress, to make out the list which he wishes. which he wishes.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I would accept any amenda to remedy any ambiguity that the gentleman may propose; but I would much prefer having all this information in one document. If there is any ambiguity in the language of the amendment, I will cheerfully accept of any modification the gentleman may be pleased to suggest to obviate the diffi-

culty.

Mr. BRADBURY. There is no use of printing this in ormation over again. It will be an unnecessary expense.

Mr. UNDERWOOD modified his amendment so as
"direct" the Heads of Departments to furnish this inform tion, instead of "requiring" them to do it.

Mr. CASS. I would inquire if the information prop

be obtained is not now upon record?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Part of it is, but I believe part of is not.

Mr. CASS. I would suggest to the Senator that it would better to ascertain whether the information is upon record here or not.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. But I wish the whole to be printed in one document.

Mr. EWING. If any part of this information has been presented, it will only be for the clerks to refer to it and

copy it.

Mr. BRADBURY. I think the amendment of the Sena tor from Kentucky is not sufficiently specific. It calls the number of removals of subordinates of the various Departments since 1825. Now, we do not know whom the Departments will regard as subordinates. The amendment which I presented calls for a list of the removals from important offices, and then a statement of the number of other officers. I think the amendment of the Senator from Kentucky is not sufficiently specific to obtain that information which I am certain it is his object to obtain.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Then I would ask that the reso-

thing to meet the wishes of the Senate and to accomplish the object I have in view; and I hope, therefore, that the resolution will be permitted to lie on the table for the presnt.

Mr. EWING. Before the motion to lay on the table is made, I wish to say a word in reply to the Senator from Iowa.

He has spoken of the cause of removal and of a case of fail-ure to remove. It is unnecessary to refer to the failure to remove, as that matter is not before the Senate. The resolution pending does not ask for information as to those who

sum was expended, and in addition to that, as far as could be ascertained, some twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars were drawn for, and no more work was done by him than simply to fix the initial point on the Pacific coast; that is, to measure two marine leagues south of the bay of San Diego, erect a rough monument there, and to find the point of junction of the Gila and the Colorado. The services performed bore no just relation to the expenditure. In addition to that, there were heavy complaints against him from those that were with him on the commission of inefficiency and want of attention to his duty. All these things, and more, appear from the papers ac companying the reports presented to the Senate, and gentle men if they please to do it can read and understand them. I have said thus much, however, not because I wish to go I have said thus much, however, not because I wish to go into particulars, for I do not feel disposed to de that on a gene, al challenge; I want to deal with no man's character; out, b ecause the case of Col. Weller was distinctly and specifically put, I could not remain silent without

what was so pointedly alleged. Mr. DODGE, of Iowa. We are to understand now from the Se nator from Ohio that the man whose services were such as to obtain for him the soubriques of the Marion of the Mexican war—the man who gained such signal renown for imself in that was—the man who was in almost every battle on either the Rio Grande or Vera Cruz line, covered with wounds, and faithful in all his public trusts, was removed formouth be cause no report had been received from him during the brief time between his appointment and removal. The gentleman from Ohio says he failed to make his report. I ask what report, as Governor of the Territory of Oregon, he was required to make, and which was of sufficient importance

Mr. EWING. He was required to make a report as So erintendent of Indian Affairs, an exceedingly important tatter in the condition of our Indian relations with the tribus

intendent of Indiae Affairs, and had a report in that capacity to make. But I andertake to say, without having heard Gov. Lane's explanation of the matter, that if it is investigated it will be found that he did make a report, which every one knows was liable to be lost in the mails of the United States, or to be delayed by his time being occupied in treat-ing with the Indians, or the performance of other public duties. I apprehend it will be found, when the facts are fully known, that there were no good reasons for the removal of Gov. Lane, and that those given have been resorted to to strike down a man whose removal was predetermined on. The Senators from Indiana know something, doubtless much, of he character of their distinguished fellow-citizen, and I expect to hear from them in reference to this accusation against

As to the other case referred to by the Senator from Ohio, ne states that the documents on file, meaning, I suppose, his eports to the Senate of the United States as Secretary of the terior, furnish a cause of the removal of Col. Weller. Sir, want better evidence than is furnished by these docume remember distinctly that his removal was placed on the ground that he was a defaulter by every administration paper in the country. I wish to ask the Senator from Ohio now if he can assert that Mr. Weller is a defaulter to the United

Mr. EWING. I cannot possibly state whether he was lefaulter or not. He had not presented his accounts when I etired from the Department, and of course I do not know

ny thing officially about the matter.

Mr. DODGE: I undertake to say that his accounts have een settled, and settled in a manner creditable and honorable to him, as I learn from a source that is entitled to reiance. The charge that has been iterated and reiterated as the cause of the removel of that gallant man, has now vanish-ed into smoke and thin air. No such thing can be maintained. His accounts have been triumphantly settled.

Mr. President, I reiterate the challenge which I gave the

enator from Ohio. I challenge him to give the reasons why Henn, Van Antwerp, Meally, Low, Lewis, and McHenry, and others, the men who held office in the State which I represent, fell under his merciless guillotine. I challenge him here to produce one single reason beyond the expression of their political sentiments for that act. No, sir, it is idle; it is ridiculous to undertake, in the face of a proscription hich has no parallel for its extent and relentless character in the history of this country, to justify it on the ground of charges preferred and sustained. And this is the reason I vas in in favor of the resolution of the Senator from Maine. knew it would be said that these individuals were removed or cause, hence my anxiety for the passage of that resolution. Mr. GWIN. I was not in my seat when the Senator from Ohio referred to Colonel Weller and the cause of his removal. He will greatly oblige me if he will renew his statement, as I may have something to say on that subject.

was ascertained that the whole amount of money-fifty thouand dollars-had been expended, and the only work done up to that time was the fixing of the point of departure upon the Pacific coast : that is, two marine leagues south of San e Pacific coast ; that is, two marine leagues south of Diego, and fixing the point of junction of the Gila and Colorado. That was the report received prior to the time of his removal. It was supposed that the work had not advanced as far as it ought to have done.

Mr. CASS. I do not understand whether the objection of the Senator from Ohio was that Col. Weller had

expended so much money, or that he had expended it improperly. If he expended it improperly, I would ask, was he a defaulter ?

Mr. EWING. I do not know officially whether he was a lefaulter or not. The Senator from Iowa says that his acthe Department. He spent a great deal and continued to draw for more, beyond any thing for which he had rendered an account. He may have settled it all properly by this time; but it is the duty of an executive officer not to let

things be so irregularly managed.

Mr. CASS Then he seems to have been removed for exending money properly, if his accounts have been settled onorably and satisfactorily.

Mr. GWIN. I went to California with Col. Weller.

The delay which has been complained of occurred at Panama. know that he could not leave there sooner than he did. He left by the first steamer that went up the coast after his arrival in Panama. The delay originated from the fact that the crew of the steamship California deserted at San Francisco, and hence could not go down according to appointment to take the passengers from Panama. Col. Weller and his company were delayed until the steamship Panama came round the Horn, on which vessel he went up to San Diego. His delay was unavoidable. It was an inevitable delay. It eft by the first steamer that went up the coast after his arrival could not have been prevented by any action of his. I know

e was very much annoyed on account of it.

Now a word in regard to the expenditure to which the Senator alluded. I know the fact to which the Senator from owa referred, that Col. Weller's accounts have not only been settled, but a balance of some four thousand dollars was found due him; and yet he was published throughout the whole country as a defaulter. With one exception—the expense of his return-not a single item of his accounts was rejected. So that the money which he expended was pro-

perly expended.

As regards the manner in which Col. Weller discharged the duties of his office, I undertake to say that with the same the duties of his office, I undertake to say that with the same amount of money more important services were rendered to the United States than ever has been done before under any similar commission. He hired individuals for thirty dollars per month, and took their pledge of honor before they went that they would remain with him. They did remain, although their labor was worth four or five times as much in California. He rendered the most important services for a very small sum of money, considering the condition of affairs in California. Not only was this initial point alluded to by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Ewing) established, but the important portion of the boundary between the Pacific ocean and portant portion of the boundary between the Pacific ocean and the mouth of the Gila river was established Never before was such a vastamount of services performed with such a small sum of money, if the enormous prices of supplies and the high wages of labor are taken into consideration.

I should like to know from the Senator from Ohio whether

Col. Weller was not removed before it was ascertained here that the initial point of departure was established. If I am not mistaken he was removed even before it was known that he had szcived in California. He arrived there on the first of June; and if I mistake not be was removed in July, when it could not possibly have been known here that he had arrived there. I am prepared to defend Col. Weller's official acts in that commission against every allegation that can be brought against him; and if the Senator from Ohio or any other individual will put a finger on any thing which he did which was not correct, I am prepared to defend him, and to defend him triumphantly against every imputation brought against him.

Mr. EWING. I wish to say a word in reply to the Se-

nator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass.) He remarked, in reply to an observation from me, that Col. Weller had been remo-ved for spending money properly; and he seemed to draw that deduction from what I said. Now, I said that he had rendered no account he how of expended the money and what he had done. Was the remark of the Senator from Michigan a fair and legitimate deduction from the statement which I made. I appeal to the honorable Senator to say whether it is or not.

Mr. CASS. I did not say that the honorable Senator said

he had been removed for expending money properly. It was

Senator from Maine. No, sit, no; he ought not to be. On that score I humbly conceive that that Senator has sins enough of his own to answer for. And as he is on this floor, and has chosen to engage in this discussion, dealing liberally with the motives and conduct of others, I trust it may not be deemed inappropriate in me to ask some account from him of the registers, teceivers, marshals, district attorneys, and other officers placed under his kindly care as Secretary of the Interior about the 4th of March, 1849, leaving to the Heads of other to reward and no enemies to punish," to account for which the tree district attorney, and one one miss to punish, "to account for what he disposed of properly unless this is done. It is curio, us to for any administration or of the United States. I received promise the prominent charges made

**Repair of the boundary commission: In this he is incorrect. And that we shall set a that the seasor grainst that he was respectable that the boundary commission: In this he is incorrect. As to Gov. Lane, no report was made by him to the Department of the subject and that we may not have it come up with the max reproduced a large from the registing to some Western State land to make a railroad or late the subject and that we may not have it come up with the max readed and policing to the Heads of other administration or the policine with more as cause he was an opponent of the Administration, I have nothing to say; but I do not wish to have it said that Colonel Weller was removed because he did not render regular ac-

counts of the doings of his commission.

Mr. GWIN. I have another word to say in regard to this matter. I am perfectly confident that Col. Weller did render his accounts before he was removed. He sent his Secretary his accounts before he was removed. He sent his Secretary on from Panama with his accounts and his vouchers. He drew drafts at Panama for the expense of transporting his company to San Diego, and they were protested, although the amount he had received and the amounts drawn for were within the fifty thousand dollars appropriated by Congress. The Government lost seconsiderable sum by these protests, because the drafts were for necessary expenses. Coli Weller had full authority to draw them, and the Government was sumpelled to pay them. sompelled to pay them.
Sir, Col. Weller was Eterally starved but of the commis

Sir, Col. Weller was Eterally starved but of the commission. He borrowed money to continue his operations from every person who had the confidence to lend him any, because he could get none from the Government. He did not receive the full amount of the appropriation of fifty thousand dollars. He labored under the greatest possible embarrassments. I was informed this morning by the able officer (Col. Emory) who acted as astronomer to the commission that, after Col. Weller's drafts were protested, he (Col. Emory—le t in charge of the commission after Col. Weller's removal) was allowed to draw upon the Department of the Interior for such charge of the commission after Cel. Weller's removal) was allowed to draw upon the Department of the Interior for such moneys as he needed, but he could not sell his drafts at fifty cents to the dollar. I understand that a large number of the cents to the dollar. I understand that a large number of the employées of the commission, after having been absent on the Pacific coast for eighteen months; had to come home without their pay. They had to borrow money to bring them home. A number of the officers of the commission were never paid at all. The surveyor of the commission, who is now in this city, had to borrow money to bring thim home. This is true also in regard to the astronomer and other attaches of the commission. There was an utter neglect on the part of the Government of the officers attached to this commission. If memory of the officers attached to this commission. Government of the officers attached to this commission. I am prepared to say that Col. Weller did render his accounts, for he sent his brother here with his vouchers, and he was here with them before Col. Weller was removed. And the Senator is entirely mistaken in the facts of the case in giving

that as a reason for his removal. Mr. EWING: The Senator from California (Mr. Gwin) is, I think, mistaken as to his dates. The agent of Col. Weller did not come here, or, if he did, I never heard of him, until long after the Colonel was removed. And the agent, even when he came, would not do as a substitute for the accounts and vouchers required by the rules of the Department. And I can say to the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) in reply to his inquiry, that had Col. Weller be en a Whig, and had my information concerning him been what it was, and from the same reliable sources, I would have unhositatingly

advised his removal. The Senator from California dwells upon the difficulties encountered by Col. Weller by reason of the protest of his drafts by the Department. These drafts were protested because he neglected to forward his accounts at d vouchers, as the rules of the Department required, and as he was specially instructed by Mr. Buchanan. They were delicited a most unreasonable time, and hence the protest of Coll. Weller's drafts, and his difficulty and embarrassment for want of funds.

It may correct the recollection of the Senator from California as to dates to be reminded that Col. Weller was suspend-

ed at the State Department by the appointment tof Col. Fre-mont, many months before his final order of removal was sent him. Mr. GWIN: Mr. President, Col. Weller le ft Panama or the 17th day of May for San Diego. He left his brother as his acting secretary at Panama, with instructions to return to the United States by the first steamship with his vouchers for the settlement of his accounts; and this is the first time that I have ever heard it stated that he was not here b efore the removal of his brother. There is an issue of fact between the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Ewine) and myself, which can be settled by the record. I am perfectly confident the Senator from Ohio is mistaken. We left Panama on the 1.7th of May.

The brother of Col. Weller left there within 2-week k to return hither, and must have been here before Col. Fre mont's appointment. I think Col. Fremont was appointed on the 19th day of July. I know the intelligence of that appointment did not reach California until the latter part of August, or the beginning of September. I cannot be mistaken in the fact that Col. Weller sent his brother from Panama with his vouchers, and that he must have arrived here before the appointment of Col. Fremont. And now a word in regard to this renderings of accounts, extravagant expenditure of money, and authority to draw for the amount appropriated. The accounts were rendered, and

been a very large amount of money placed in Col. Weller's hands. A great deal of time elapsed before any account was received from him at all. When the account was received it the most unlimited authority to Mr. Weller to draw for and was accordingly that the most unlimited authority to Mr. Weller to draw for and extravagant or improper expenditure. Mr. Buchanan gave the most unlimited authority to Mr. Weller to draw for and disburse the appropriation. He was the disbursing officer of the commission. There was no limit on his drafts, except that he should keep within the appropriation of \$50,000. If he had been a defaulter, the dishonor and disgress would have been upon the preceding Administration and himself. The Administration of Gen. Taylor would not have been blamed for it. No limitation was imposed upon him, except that he should render quarterly accounts. He was required to render quarterly accounts from the point at which he was ordered to perform service. But he was detained at Panama by unavoidable circumstances, and before it was known that he had arrived at the point where his labors were to commence, before it was known that he had commenced his labors, he was removed. And I undertake to say that his actual expenses from the commencement of operations on the Pacific were always greater than the money he had in hand. He has suffered much pecuciary injury from the advances which he made personally on account of the commission. I know this from my own personal knowledge. And instead of having large sums of money in his hands, not properly accounted for, he sums of money in his hands, not properly accounted for, he was constantly withholding money from his employées, which was justly due to them, in order to prosecute his labors until relieved by remittances from the Government, which never

reached him.

Mr. CASS. When did Col. Weller leave the United

Mr. GWIN. On the second day of March. He arrived at New Orleans on the 28th February, and the quartermaster's department there immediately furnished him with a governnt vessel, the Alabama, to take him to the Isthmus that he might be in time for the steamer of the 15th of March or 1st of April.

Mr. CASS. Then one quarter did not expire until the first of June, and he was removed in the middle of June. Mr. GWIN. I would state, furthermore, on the authorit of Col. Weller, that he went to Gen. Taylor, in Cincinnati, before he started for the Pacific, to ascertain whether or not he would be continued in the public service. He certainly understood from Gen. Taylor that he could go on and perform this service, and that he would not be interrupted in the dis-charge of his duties. That was one cause that induced him to go—the belief, from what passed between Gen. Taylor and himself at that interview, that he would not be removed in the progress of the survey of the boundary.

progress of the survey of the boundary.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The general objects of this resolution seem to have been lost sight of by the discussion of the particular case of Col. Weller, and that cannot be settled except by reference to the record. I hope, therefore, that we shall take the general resolution as offered, and dispose of it without further discussion. I would say to my friend from Maine that I will withdraw my first amendment, and offer the Ullowing instead of it, as an addition to his:

following instead of it, as an addition to his:

"That the President be also requested to cause to be laid before the Senate the number of removals which have taken place during each administration, in every department of the Government, since the 4th of March, 1825."

I know that a portion of the information which I want is elready before the Senate, but there is a portion of it in regard to the Administration of Gen. Harrison and Mr. Tyler that is not before the Senate. Perhaps there may be some other administration of whose removals we have no information. And as we are informed that the clerks will have nothing to do but to copy the information that has already been furnished, I think we had better get the whole information in one

Mr. BADGER. I desire to occupy the attention of the Senate for a single moment for the purpose of calling attention to a mistake into which the Senator from Ohio has fallen. The honorable Senator from Michigan put the question whether, if Col. Weller had been a Whig, he would have been removed, if he had acted precisely in the manner in which he did act. The honorable Senator from Ohio had previously stated, as the cause of the removal of Col. Weller, that an unreasonable time had elapsed without his accounts being rendered, and that in the mean time he had made large drafts for money, the propriety and correctness of which could not be ascertained without the accounts, and that this delay, unexplained, was considered a sufficient reason for his removal. It was upon that statement that the Senator from Michigan founded his question, whether, if Mr. Weller's politics had been different, a similar course would have been pursued in reference to him. I was very much surprised to hear the honorable Senator from Ohio say, that under such circumstances he would have advised his removal if he were a Whig.

Mr. E WING. What I said in reply to the honorable Senator from Michigan was, that, under similar circumstances— The honorable Senator from Michigan put the question whethtor from Michigan was, that, under similar circumstances-under all the circumstances which existed with respect to Col. Weller—I would have advised his removal if his politics had